pilgrimage to Mecca, an expensive undertaking for the people of Rowanduz. 788

A more precise idea of the actual sums involved may be obtained from the example of a general merchant, Fatah-Ullah, who, while not in the class of the wholesalers, is wealthier than some of his fellow merchants, and most other shopkeepers and craftsmen in the town. Fatah-Ullah keeps a small general shop in the bazar from which he obtains about 250 fils a day, and owns a house in which he rents two rooms, in 1951 to a police constable and a teacher, for a total of 4 dinars a month. In addition he has a contract with the serai to furnish prisoners in its jail with bread and stew, at about 60 fils for each head, and there are always four or five prisoners on hand. Fatah-Ullah's wife bakes bread, which is peddled about the town by some of his children, realizing about 200 fils every day. His gross income for a year may be estimated as follows: 443 434 [427] [265] [256]

(1000 fils : 1 Iraqi Dinar : $2.80)

| | Per diem | Per mensem | Per annum |
|---|---|---|---|
| Shop | 250 fils | 6.250 dinars | 75.000 dinars |
| Rental | - | 4.000 dinars | 48.000 dinars |
| Contract | 200 fils | 5.000 dinars | 60.000 dinars |
| Bread | 200 fils | 5.000 dinars | 60.000 dinars |
| | | 20.250 dinars ($56.70) | 243.000 dinars ($680.40) |

Against this, Fatah-Ullah has a large number of expenditures. He must, of course, purchase the merchandise for his shop, and flour and vegetables for baking and the prison contract. In addition, he must buy food and clothing for himself and his family (he has seven 443 511

children, six girls and a boy), and various household necessities, particularly firewood and kerosene. He also has to pay taxes on his house and his shop, as well as maintain two children in school. Finally, there is a variety of miscellaneous purchases, including gifts for his wife, an animal for Jayjani Ramazan, tobacco for cigarettes (his wife is an inveterate smoker), and benevolent collections. All things considered, Fatah-Ullah's cash profit at the end of a typical year is not extensive, perhaps ten or twenty dinars, and this sum is never invested nor is it used to expand his business, but is hoarded in cash and removed from circulation.

In completing this discussion of merchants, craftsmen, and laborers in Rowanduz, it is convenient to reserve until later persons, such as the midwives, as well as a number of others whose employment is only casual or in the service of religion, for they have little real economic significance in the community. Of those here treated, some notes of their origins have been made, and their derivation from older families in the town, from the villages, or from without the district itself, as in the case of Shakir Effendi and the merchant Fatah-Ullah who moved in years past from Sulaymaniya. It is important to realize that all of these occupations, even those of the craftsmen, are so simple that almost any man can try his hand at them after the briefest of apprenticeships, and, indeed, the occupational histories of a large number in the town are extremely varied. There are no unions or guilds, and

574 of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as
556 follows:-
672

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | The Agha himself | |
| 1 | Wife | |
| 3 | Sons | |
| 4 | Daughters | |
| 7 | Maidservants | Mostly kinsfolk of some sort |
| 4 | Manservants | |
| 1 | Mulla | |
| 1 | Brother | |
| 5 | Guests | |
| 3 | By exaggeration | |
| 30 | | |

In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expense of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

263 Moreover the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not
272 the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee:
177 especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Russian style
435 of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea
574 is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about 45/- a bag (of 36 Kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Dergala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically effected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and mostly frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an
764 Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

262 On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship,
511 between the Guest House and the Aghas net income, the importance of Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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not be underestimated. The consumption of sugar, tea and coffee is to a large extent confined to the Guest House and it is important to recognise that these are the principle items of ordinary consumption that have to be paid for in cash. *In the simple foods, wheat, rice, meat, fruits, etc. each small community can be largely self supporting; it is only the luxury foodstuffs associated with the Guest House which have to be paid for in cash. The effect of this upon the general economic organisation will be discussed presently.

Meanwhile it should be noted again how closely linked from the Kurdish viewpoint is the upkeep of the Guest House and the upkeep of the Aghas household in general. This attitude is not so inconsistent as at first appears. Although the womenfolk never appear in the Guest House, it is they who do all the work connected with it. It is the women who milk the goats and prepare the mast (a milk product similar to yaghourt), it is the women who make the bread and do all the cooking - and all this is work for several pairs of hands. In the commoner's house one wife alone can readily enough accomplish all the work required of her, but the hospitality undertaken by an Agha in his Guest House involves the work of a number of women, and this is consistent with the fact that the Agha's household is normally the only polygynous group in the community.

A further point to be noted in this connection is that not only does the Agha's household include an abnormal proportion of women, but that the upkeep of these women is much more expensive than the average. In the Balik area nearly all the males have their clothes made from locally woven cloth; even the Aghas and their sons, though employing better quality materials than the commoner, stick mainly to Kurdish cloth and eschew the fancy clothing adopted by townsfolk and the Aghas of the plain. This appears to be due to their severely puritan tastes rather than to economic necessity. A nephew of the Agha of Rayat was seen wearing a suit of ordinary Kurdish style but made of obviously expensive imported cloth in plain bright colours, - this was much admired; but at the same time a trader from Rowandus, who was wearing a rig out of the cheap gaudily striped Japanese cloth typical of Near Eastern Bazaars, was held up to ridicule as a man of no taste. Anyway, as the conventions are at present, neither the commoner nor the Agha incurs much cash expenditure in connection with his own clothes; but for the womenfolk it is different. In the old days they too were well satisfied with the simple cloths produced on the local looms, but now more and more they are becoming eager for "frills and furbelows" - Japanese cotton prints for the commoners, Indian silks for the wives of Aghas. In part this is the inevitable result of the greater facilities for trading contact brought about by 'pacification' and the building of the road, but the tendency was undoubtedly accelerated by the policy of the Administration after the Great War

* The more important Aghas often import extra supplies of rice so as to avoid giving their guests the inferior rice substitute sawa (see later).

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the policy of the Administration after the Great War.

Formerly the village communities were, within the limits of a somewhat meagre standard of living, virtually self supporting. Trade and currency circulation were both minimal. *The British Administration's policy of buying the loyalty of the tribal chiefs by means of a cash salary resulted in there being available within the community substantial amounts of currency for which there was no immediate outlet except in the purchase of luxuries. Moreover this wealth was not distributed evenly throughout the community but concentrated into the hands of a few leading Aghas. The result has many analogies with similar phenomena observed in Africa. The preliminary expenditure creates a sudden taste for luxuries within a small segment of the community. These new wants develop both in scope and intensity out of all proportion to the ability of the community to satisfy them, with the inevitable result that the economic balance of the community is upset and the originally wealthy group, by developing expensive tastes, becomes eventually an economic drain upon the community. The process can indeed be expressed in general economic terms applicable even to the conditions of our own society.

Expenditure by the Government can for a time create a new large effective demand, but when this expenditure ceases and the income of the community drops the newly created wants remain unsatisfied. The result is not a reversion to the original situation but an adaptation of it, in which the available income is allocated to new ends in an attempt to give partial satisfaction to the newly created wants.

There can be no doubt that in the Balik country, under the influence of the Government subsidy, the tastes of the more important Aghas and their households developed a high degree of sophistication without any corresponding improvement in the productivity of the community as a whole. With the establishment of effective police authority in the Rowanduz valley the subsidy to the tribal leaders was suspended as being unnecessary. The consequences were inevitable. The foreign clothing and house furnishings which had formerly been mere luxuries had by this time developed into essential necessaries. Today the more sophisticated Aghas such as Sheikh Mohammad of Walash and Hamid Amin of Dergala are feeling the pinch severely. They will tell you that times are hard and that they can no longer afford to maintain the standard they were accustomed to in the days of their youth, but the truth rather would seem to be that they are vainly trying to maintain a much "higher" standard than was ever thought of

* It is difficult to obtain from Kurdish sources reliable information of the sums involved. Sheikh Mohammad's son assured me that at one time his father possessed over £3,000 in gold and specie. At the present time he appears to be in debt to merchants and moneylenders.

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in olden times, and that the economy of the village will not stand the strain. 511 178 434 [622]

Much point is lent to this by the fact that Ali Agha of Rayat (head of the Shevdini), who being a nominal subordinate of Sheikh Mohammad received no Government subsidy, has remained a simple tribesman with few tendencies towards sophistication. Moreover, far from lamenting the new order he seems to find the present times extremely prosperous and is eagerly pressing his claims with the Government to have the Shevdini land registered in his own name, so that he can establish his people's claim to be an ashiret in their own right instead of merely a taifa of the Balik. It seems significant too that the Shevdini, who alone have never had to undergo the economic shock of temporary Government support, appear to be today much the most integrated group in the sociological sense.

One further generalisation emerges from this analysis. We noted earlier that of the food consumed by the village, the only items that must be purchased by cash are sugar, tea, coffee and in some cases rice. We noted further that practically the whole of this expenditure was incurred by the Agha in connection with the maintenance of the Guest House and his own household. Now from our analysis of other forms of cash expenditure we see that these too fall almost exclusively on the Agha rather than the commoner. The Agha's expenditure thus differs from that of the commoner not only in volume but also very largely in kind. This distortion has important bearings for our further analysis.

## Economic Balance of the Village Community

Of the various village groups in the area here described it is scarcely possible to select any single community as typical, so far as agricultural production is concerned. While all the groups are interested in approximately the same range of products, what might be called the 'emphasis of production' varies considerably. One village may specialise in fruit growing, another in wheat, another in tobacco and so on. This differentiation arises partly from geographical considerations - such as altitude, water supply, soil fertility - and partly from the conservative prejudices of the Aghas concerned. Owing to the increased trading contacts opened up since the coming of the road, and the need to satisfy newly developed wants for imported "luxury" goods the whole structure of the economic organisation of these hill people is undergoing very rapid change and readjustment. The individual variations as between different villages at the present time depend in the main upon the degree to which this readjustment to changed external circumstances has already taken place. It should be borne in mind therefore that the synthetic account of this process of change in the following few pages, though valid in general terms if applied to the district as a whole, is not necessarily applicable to any single village community. 621 311 433